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## RESTRICTION OF IMMIGRATION: RACIAL ASPECTS

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The Great War has left in its wake many problems of vast moment,—economic, political, social and racial problems. Of all these the racial is the most fundamental because it will be the most enduring. Debts can be paid, even though a generation must be starved to do it; frontiers can be corrected, even though wars must be fought for the purpose, but the racial composition of a given country and the complications arising therefrom are there for all time.

For Americans the great question of the day is the restriction of immigration, but for various reasons the public press is strangely silent upon the issues involved.

Such restriction has been considered from many different, mainly selfish, points of view and the hearings before the Immigration Committees of the House and of the Senate during the past year have given the noisy racial interests an opportunity to be heard.

Transportation lines also have been active in voicing their opposition to any check to their business of carrying living freight in the largest possible quantity. It is perfectly natural for corporations engaged in the transportation of steerage passengers to object to interference and so skilfully and effectively have their interests been defended that they almost succeeded in blocking legislation through their influence with the press.

Another factor in opposing immigration limitation has been the equally selfish desire on the part of the large employers of labor to import unskilled workmen. The demand for cheap labor, of course, is as old as civilization itself and is especially felt where the native population is not subdivided into classes with a base of serfs or peasants accustomed to heavy work.

In the classic civilizations of Greece and Rome this crude

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labor was supplied by slaves captured in war, while in medieval Europe the lower classes represented a native population ruled by a race of conquerors from the North.

In Colonial America the Englishmen who settled in the Northern Colonies originally had no aversion to manual labor of the heaviest description and as a result they flourished and expanded with great rapidity.

The Southern Colonies were populated by a different strain of the same race, consisting of a small top dressing of the ruling classes of England and a very large proportion of less desirable strains, but all were Anglo-Saxon. This stratification of the population and the climate acting together made slave labor a necessity.

A similar condition prevailed in many of the West Indian Islands where there was white aristocracy resting upon a servile base. In the West Indies this stratum of the dominant race was too thin and after a few generations of civilization, luxury and, in some cases, of a fine development of intelligence, the white supremacy was broken and the negroes either took over the country as in the case of Haiti or intermarried and hopelessly diluted the white blood as in Jamaica, while in the Bahamas, Barbados and elsewhere the white supremacy is becoming more and more unstable.

About the middle of the Nineteenth Century the world of the white man was transformed by an industrial revolution and the change from agricultural to industrial conditions was accompanied by a tremendous expansion of population. In America the free farmer owning his cabin, farm and wood lot, with a very vital interest in the government and defense of the community, ceased to be the controlling factor and the number of landless farm laborers, domestic servants and, above all, factory workmen greatly increased.

The native Americans were still perfectly willing to work in a lumber camp or on a farm or to sail the high seas, but they did not take kindly to, and, in fact, were physically unfitted for the cramping indoor life of a factory, so crude workers were sought in the guise of immigrants and not of slaves as in the preceding centuries.

Before discussing the ethnic character of the immigrants let us consider for a moment the actual racial composition of

A few years after this Irish immigration, the revolutionary disturbance throughout Continental Europe occurred. These revolutions were for the most part failures, but resulted in sending over to this country many Germans. These German immigrants were for the most part Protestants and scattered throughout the agricultural districts losing their identity, accepting the English language and merging with the communities in which they settled. They were in sharp contrast with the German immigrants of a half-century later, who, coming from the united German Empire, were proud of being Germans and formed blocks of German-speaking, kultur-loving foreigners in our midst.

Americans have failed to make the necessary distinction between the individual Germans who came over here from the then independent and weak German states and the later immigrants who came over under the spell of the powerful and consolidated German Empire.

Along with these Irish and Germans came many Scandinavians, who settled on farms in the newer sections of the country and reinforced the native Nordic element.

In spite of much opposition and discontent among the native Americans, the immigrants in the fifties, sixties and seventies took an important part in supplying domestic servants and rough labor for the construction of railroads, canals and building operations throughout the North and West.

All this ended in the eighties when a new class of immigrants began to arrive, this time not from Northwestern Europe but from South and Southeastern Europe. They introduced new social strata in the country, forcing out the Irish into the ranks of foremen while the Italians dug the ditches and our mines were worked by so-called Poles and Slovaks.

There was also a rapid increase of immigrants of Italian, Austrian, Slav, Greek and finally Russian nationalities, while thousands of Armenians, Syrians and people of the Near East poured into the unfortunate United States.

Two hundred years ago some of the most valuable strains of the Northwestern European population were really oppressed and countries like Switzerland, England and finally the United States, by offering a refuge, received many valuable elements. The Huguenots, for example, expelled from France at the

end of the Seventeenth Century, were a very desirable class, and greatly benefited the countries in which they took refuge.

This was true also of England during the Puritan Revolution and to a less extent it was true of the revolutionary Germans in '48. It is, however, not true today of any country on earth. Now that Russia has relinquished her grip on Finland it cannot be truly stated that political refugees represent the desirable classes of the country from which they flee. The only possible exception is Russia, but there the Nordic upper classes are showing no tendency to come to this country, although subjected to robbery and massacre at home.

As a result of this new immigration from South and Southeastern Europe the proportion of the British population has steadily fallen since 1880, but the present conditions are, nevertheless, not as bad as the popular conception of the racial composition of the country would indicate.

During the early part of the Great War, the Canadians expressed the fear that the Germans in this country were so numerous that they would rise, seize the Government and prevent our joining the Allies. Even today one hears many amusing statements that the Germans represent a population of sixteen to twenty millions, while the Irish claim some twenty millions, the Slavs nine millions and Heaven alone knows how many Italians there are in the United States when it becomes a question of a memorial to Dante. The fact is that, out of the total population of one hundred and six millions there are actually thirteen and a third ( $13\frac{1}{3}$ ) millions of foreign birth and in addition less than nineteen millions of foreign or mixed parentage. Those of German birth constitute eight millions, while the Irish, including the Ulstermen, amount to about 4,500,000, being actually outnumbered by the British-Canadian group of 5,100,000.

Neither the Germans, Irish nor Jews when separated number even 7 per cent. of the population.

These figures are based on the census of 1920 and, bad as they are, the fact still remains that, including blacks, the ancestry of three out of four of the inhabitants of this country extends beyond the middle of the last century. Those who go back as far as that are usually derived from a line that carries on still another century. In other words, the population con-

sists of two distinct elements, one the native Americans of Colonial descent and the other the various foreign groups, some in sympathy with the native Americans and some remaining hyphenates.

So much for the racial composition of the country as it is today. Serious enough, but not hopeless.

A new problem confronts America, not the past but the future. The theory of allowing immigrants into this country was based on the erroneous idea that Americans can be made out of any kind of racial material. It was thought that it was only necessary to wave the American flag, send the children to public schools, teach them to speak English, and, presto, we have a full-blown American.

Two generations ago we would have also demanded religious uniformity, but now that has been cheerfully forgotten and we appear to be ready to abandon Christianity itself as a test of admission. Thanks to our foreign press and the encouragement it is receiving from native Americans we may have serious trouble in maintaining even the supremacy of the English tongue.

The old ethnology, which was based on language and nationality, has given way to the science of physical anthropology. Modern biologists are agreed, except where blinded by their own racial limitations, that the physical inheritance of man is *not* influenced by his environment and that his psychology and mental predispositions are equally unchangeable.

All that favorable environment can do is to give full scope to the development of the physical and mental capacities of the individual, but the limitations for such development are fixed definitely and finally by race.

If we grant the premise that the native Americans of British descent founded this country, formulated its constitution and have thus far governed the land with more or less success, then it is hardly wise for native Americans to entrust the future of their country to men not of Nordic breed.

Numbers of the immigrants now coming over here are not of that breed but are of races that have for many thousands of years shown an utter incapacity to appreciate the ideas and ideals that have heretofore dominated this country. Why, then, should we invite them to come? There can be only one answer

to that question, and that is, because we need them for our own purposes and not because they want to come. The question is merely whether we need them or not to populate the country.

We unquestionably do need them if our ideals are the development of the country in a single generation, the slaughter of all mammals for food, trophies or fur, of all birds for sport or feathers, the cutting of all forests for timber and grape stakes, the opening of all coal mines, the draining of all oil wells, the harnessing of all waterfalls for power. If all the valleys of the Sierras are to be drowned to irrigate deserts, if all rich bottom lands must be needlessly exhausted, if all our rivers and streams must be stripped of their fish and turned into sewers to carry off waste materials for factories, if the land must be gridironed with railroads and highways,—all in a few decades—then it is obvious that we must have a servile class to do the work.

If, on the other hand, this work can be done as the population expands naturally and several centuries can be devoted to the orderly and scientific development of the country, then this work can be left for the native Americans.

If we concede that the fundamental question is not *how fast* but *how wisely* we can develop the country, then it is our duty to consider the racial composition of the United States a century hence.

There are two important considerations to take up. The first is the well-founded belief that an immigrant population does not so much *augment* as *replace* an existing population where the incoming type has a lower standard of living. The arrival of immigrants of low social status has an unfavorable effect on the birth rate of the higher types. The birth rate of native Americans has fallen steadily in those portions of the country where immigrants are most numerous, as in New England and the Middle Eastern States. While in the South and in the West it still remains substantial.

In other words, immigrant workmen have replaced native American workmen. One American out of ten gets a job as foreman, but he, too, is ultimately replaced even there by the more energetic members of the gang under him.

The second consideration is perhaps just as important. It is a popular belief that the population in a country like the



United States can expand indefinitely. This is true up to the limit of food supply at a given state of development. It is hardly necessary to point out that all the best land is now utilized and, while cultivation can be improved and inferior waste land brought under the plow, there is a definite limit to such expansion.

The studies of Professor Raymond Pearl have shown that we have just reached the point not of maximum population but of *maximum rate of increase* and that from now on that rate of increase will decline until in less than two centuries it will become stabilized and the population reach nearly its maximum density and amount to roughly twice our present numbers.

A century ago when there was no immigration, the rate of increase was far greater than during the last decade when millions of immigrants poured into the country. Do we want this increase in the future to come from the people now here or do we want it to be derived from strange races from beyond the Jordan?

To this there can be only one answer if the issues are properly understood. The full realization of these perils is probably due to the war and to the discovery, new to many people, that we have in our midst millions of people who are not Americans, but are German-Americans, Irish-Americans, Italian-Americans or Jewish-Americans. As a result there was an overwhelming demand for a complete stop or a severe check to immigration, which Congress could not ignore.

In 1917 the literacy test (a restrictive measure of great power) was passed over President Wilson's veto by a vote of 287 to 106 in the House and a vote of 62 to 19 in the Senate.

A further restriction bill favoring the old immigration from Northwestern Europe as against the new immigration from Southeastern Europe was passed in February, 1921, in the Senate by a vote of 61 to 2 and in the House by a vote of 296 to 40. It failed by reason of a pocket veto by President Wilson in the last days of his administration.

This bill was reintroduced in the new Congress and finally passed the Senate by a vote of 78 to 1 and the House by a vote of 276 to 33 and was signed on the 19th day of May, 1921, by President Harding. While there are many loopholes in this bill and the zeal of various racial groups may impair the effect

of some of its provisions, all true Americans should rejoice that our policy toward immigration has been radically changed by abandoning the old sentimental slush about "refuge for the oppressed" and by discriminating in favor of the stock which settled and developed our country.

The need for such legislation is emphasized by the fact that the ports of Europe from Danzig to Havre are choked with wretched outcasts trying to escape the aftermath of the Great War, because our indiscriminate charity and thoughtless waste have established for us the well deserved reputation of being "easy marks." To the oriental minds of Eastern Europe this opportunity must not be allowed to slip by.

Immigrants by the millions drawn from the lowest stratum of European society, from Ireland to Poland, are ready to flock here. Now that peace is established with Germany, millions of Germans will seek to better their fortunes within our country because the Fatherland with its industries checked will be unable to support its present population. Add to these the uncounted mass of that half-Asiatic welter of peoples we call Russians and we can readily see that in another decade the controlling Anglo-Saxon element would be in a hopeless minority. The menace is not immigration in the old sense of the word, but is true *migration of peoples* on a scale never before known.

The Japanese danger in the West is not yet serious because it is thoroughly understood on the Pacific Coast that the Japanese must not be allowed to enter this country in numbers. The white man of the West, like his brothers in Australia, New Zealand and British Columbia, is absolutely firm in his determination to keep these parts of the world a white man's country.

Of the negro question in the South little need be said except to point out that the North is beginning to get a taste of the conditions against which the white Southerners have struggled for two generations.

The enormous votes in favor of restrictive measures in both branches of Congress show that at last the public sentiment in America has been aroused and that we have a President who is in sympathy with the popular demand for the preservation of what is best in America. Former restrictive measures were

vetoed by President Cleveland, who lived to repent his action; by President Taft, who did not understand the issues, and by President Wilson, who was in sympathy with the racial elements seeking admission, but at last Legislature and Executive are co-operating in a manner that should give Americans a new confidence in our form of Government.

"Race, all is race," said Disraeli, and he certainly knew whereof he spoke. The day is dawning when the "Myth of the Melting Pot" will be relegated to the limbo of forgotten fallacies and take its place with Semmes' Polar Hole, with the Machine of Perpetual Motion, with Special Creation, and with a Flat Earth.

## AMERICA'S TIES TO POLAND AND FRANCE:

### ADDRESS OF WELCOME

TO

MADAME MARIE CURIE\*

By VICE-PRESIDENT CALVIN COOLIDGE

The National Institute of Social Sciences is met to honor one of the great of the earth, not as the world has always counted greatness in the past, but as it must and will recognize greatness in the future. It is not to a soldier or a statesman who has won the acclaim of multitudes in a contest of peace or war; not to one who has acquired great material possessions, but to one who, passing by all these, with a true humility, by the benefactions she has conferred upon mankind, by her great service to humanity, has forever laid all civilization under tribute. In her gentleness, in her intelligence, in her devotion to the advancement of science, there is mark and warrant of progress of an enlightened society among men.

By nationality of Poland; by allegiance of France. Either standing alone, ungraced by any other accomplishment, is sufficient to insure the most appreciative welcome from Americans. She comes, then, not merely representative of the realm of science in which all the world holds a common citizenship, but representative of two peoples moved by common aspirations for Liberty, by union of sympathy effectively exhibited, by common sacrifices on those fields which made America generations ago, and continued in a common cause in our own day for the safety and salvation of the world, as kindred both of blood and of spirit. No people who cherish freedom can look at the struggles of Poland for the past two centuries without being moved with the deepest admiration, but when they are viewed by Americans, who remember that when not only the liberties, but the very existence of Poland as a nation, were

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